

THE CULTURAL ORIGINS OF MASKS AND VISORS IN EASTERN WOODLANDS PREHISTORY

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In the evening, to conclude the mirth of the day, we had an Indian dance. The officers who joined in it putting on visors, (alias Monetas) [i.e. interpreted as a plural form for Manito]. The dance was conducted and led off by a young Sachem of the Oneida tribe, who was next followed by several other Indians, then the whole led off, and after the Indian custom, danced to the music, which was a rattle, a knife, and a pipe, which the Sachem continued clashing together and singing Indian the whole time. At the end of each the Indian whoop was set up by the whole (report of the officer's victory celebration from Lieut. Col. Adam Humley's journal entry, October 2, 1779, written during the Sullivan expedition against the Iroquois — see Cook 1887: 166).

When the topic of indigenous mask use arises, researchers interested in the Eastern Woodlands usually think of the Iroquoian use of "False Faces" as the premier example. Upon deeper reflection, other cultural groups like the Cherokee are also remembered as having used masks ceremonially. The robust nature of the carving arts and the availability of documents describing the underlying ceremonies in these two cases are directly attributable to the history of these Iroquois-speaking people and not necessarily the uniqueness in the style of their ceremonial or religious practices. We should remember that few eastern tribes avoided extirpation in the 18th century and western relocated during the early 19th century. The exceptions where tribes remained on eastern reserves allowed masking ceremonies to survive. Historic uniformity or the conservative ceremonial efforts adhered to by traditionalists incorporated masking activities into revitalization movements. This adherence was an attempt to maintain cultural boundaries between remnant native populations and mainstream Euro-American society. Additionally, the surviving practices remained in physically accessible locations for the ethnographic evidence to be salvaged, or observed and recorded academically (Fenton 1991: 3).

A closer look at the Eastern Woodlands ethnographic literature reveals that mask use was once quite widespread occurring as far north as the Canadian boreal forests, with groups like the Chippewa, Huron (Wyandot), Kaskapi and Wabanaki; and eastward with seaboard Algonquians, like the Lenape (Delaware), and most of the southern tribes found surrounding the Cherokee (see Fenton 1987: 461-477 for example). Spanish documents prove masks were used by the Calusa, or Calloosa, of mid-16th century southern Florida (Purdy 1991: 49). The vagaries of our modern understanding of mask use by marginally remembered cultural groups and migrating populations has much to do with the loss of a traditional cultural memory, or the inability of these cultures to survive annihilation. One can easily

imagine traditional ceremonies and myths were lost or at least negatively affected by contact at the onset of history.

Historic references, like the Lieut. Col. Adam Humley's journal (Cook 1887), are important reminders that masks were an integral part of native ceremonialism. This particular reference is also important since it introduces the term "visor" to describe a head covering but it is not the only place where this terminology is used (see Cresswell 1924: 109 for example). Both terms, mask and visor, are useful in the following discussion. One should understand that herein there is a tendency to use the term mask for a stationary covering used across the entire face, while the term visor might be more appropriate for a head covering that disguises the face if the celebrant holds a proper posture with the eyes looking downward. Historically and ethnographically, masks and visors were used in conjunction with cloaks to form a full disguise either to create anonymity or successfully develop an act of transfiguration. Conversely, the term headdress is not used since the word seems to imply a mere head decoration with no particular cultural meaning.

To accurately interpret native people, one must understand the motives of the chronicler, the rationale for writing this record, and how the data was collected. Casual visitors in the position to write contact histories were in many cases simply unaware or did not always understand the root of the religious practices even if exposed to them. Furthermore, the observed practices were commonly viewed with religious prejudice relegating most activities as idolatry and the paraphernalia as heathenistic. Such pagan religious practices were thought unworthy of further description and deeper reflection. In some cases, such accounts can be overtly superficial. At other times, surviving accounts can be historically unreliable. Harboring prejudicial views has a tendency to taint the truth making it awkward to write an accurate interpretation today.

Ethnographic documentation is typically based on consultation with living people imparting information on the current social state and existing cultural conditions with only minimal regard for learning about the origin of a particular observed phenomenon. These records by design generally lack any historic interpretation. During the mid-20th century, research began to focus greater attention on cultural history, or ethnohistory, to better understand both cultural origins and cultural drift or social change through time. William Fenton (1987), who has had much to say about the Iroquoian mask use, actually focused much of his career on exploring the methodologies of ethnohistoric research and how gathered data should be used in a more interpretive way. This author approach looked back through Iroquoian history to gain a wider perspective on current cultural practices. For instance, Fenton (1991 a) became familiar with a contemporary Iroquoian ceremony called the Eagle Dance. Through stylistic comparison and historic research, he was able to show that the origins of the then modern (ca. 1935) ceremony was related to the much older Calumet Dance. The latter was a welcoming ceremony whose origin was first seen by European's during the late 17th century and across the upper Mississippi Valley. Fenton was able to determine through ethnohistoric interpretation the Eagle Dance was an evolved form and determined the original Calumet Dance ceremony had spread to the Iroquois sometime in the mid 18th century.

Fenton further advocated the use of the direct historic approach as a tool to more deeply examine Iroquois origins; to study the relationship of New York tribes with other Iroquoian speaking groups; and as an aid in the identification and interpreting Iroquoian migration events. Hypothetically, the Iroquois are typically thought to be a rather late intrusive population, who had moved into lower Great Lakes region rather recently. In *Masked Medicine Societies of the Iroquois*, Fenton (1991b: 11) states:

If we could determine the center whence masking spread throughout the northeast, some light might shine on the problem whether Iroquois masking is a diagnostic trait pointing to their southern origin, or whether it is related to northern shamanism and the use of masks across the Arctic littoral, or whether the complex was original with the Iroquois themselves from whom it spread to the neighboring Delaware.

The underlying question posed by Fenton directly reflects his goal to document Iroquoian masking history. Indirectly, the author was asking: what is the origin of the Iroquois masks including the Husk, Beggar, and False Faces? This goal or the underlying origin question could never be thoroughly answered due in part to an incomplete history and the dynamic nature of the art form itself. Vague references and incomplete evidence could be found in historic accounts. However, conclusions were not so easily drawn because the underlying ceremonial activity of antiquity was not fully described. In retrospect, it is obvious that Iroquois masking had a dynamic history, one with drift created by the influx of individual stylistic expression and divergent use patterns. Obviously, the expressions were caught in 19th century change. It is of no surprise that few deep or meaningful interpretations relating to the ceremonial origins, physical migration, and trait borrowing could be reached when the 20th century ethnographic data and 18th century historic record are directly compared. Beyond the direct historic approach, can Fenton's question be partially answered in another way?

Though Fenton's research may not have always met with total success, his efforts have deep value, methodologically. His contributions were built on the assumption that the underlying pattern can best be seen if one's research proceeds from recent sources, or the known ethnic present, to the past, or early source material (see Voget 1984: 347 for a more detailed treatment). Fenton called this type of exercise "Historical Upstreaming" as opposed to traditional historic research where situations and their results are presented in a more chronologic fashion. Regardless, one can conclude that upstreaming practices carried Iroquois research forward for more than 50 years (see Fenton and Gullick 1961).

Though the direct historic approach has been an aid in the interpretation of archaeological data and has created the field of ethnohistory (i.e. a term coined in the 1950s), I don't think it necessarily matters how an interpretation is presented either forwards or backwards in time. The underlying arguments are only as strong as the available data and how thoroughly we as modern writers are versed in the related subject matter. One might argue the best interpretation should be presented

in a chronologic fashion, while another by upstream comparison (i.e. the direct historic approach).

The more serious error negatively impacting interpretation relates to a narrow focus. Most interpretive arguments will suffer from a provincial approach since modern (historical) evidence may only glimpse the past and archaeological (prehistoric) data can be locally quite incomplete. To compensate, one must constantly look farther afield to develop the most meaningful argument possible. Most importantly, Fenton and other ethnohistorians of his era have shown that marrying data from several disciplines, including archaeology, prehistory, ethnography, and history, can create highly insightful interpretations. To date, upstreaming has been used to consider the origins of masking and study their ramifications culturally. On the other hand, this paper explores the possibility that masking may best be interpreted chronologically and by using diverse sources of information.

For the sake of argument, Fenton's original question cited above is seemingly based on two somewhat faulty premises: 1) Iroquois masking was an adopted practice; and 2) the trait had recently spread into the lower Great Lakes region. These may be true but it is unlikely. Tangible prehistoric masking evidence is all but unknown south of Lake Ontario. However, no archaeological evidence is not necessarily negative archaeological evidence. Simply, tangible evidence to confirm historical use may not have easily survived in the ground. So, conversely, masks may have been used all the time. Today such practices are not so easily seen or touched because of poor preservation. Furthermore, the absence or appearance of masks in archaeological assemblages may have nothing to do with population migration or trait borrowing. During the modern era, the Lenape may have borrowed individual stylistic elements from the Seneca while on Canadian reserves but both groups may have originally used their own style of masks and maintained independent ceremonies for millennia. If masking was an ancient art, one must surmise that masks of Iroquois manufacture were only used in historically recent Lenape ceremonies and/or modern carving styles were recently grafted onto the existing Delaware craft which were already hundreds of years old.

Seemingly, a better working hypothesis would state masking ceremonies were never an artform borrowed from an alien cultural but were ubiquitously used and omnipresent, having an evolving history as old as the associated cultures themselves. Secondly, we should also assume style, function, and meaning of the art form would exhibit some drift through time. Due to the inherent vagaries of archaeological research, unimpeachable evidence is scant but there is circumstantial evidence

on which a logical argument can be made in support of this alternative hypothesis. The better question then becomes: what is the history of masking in Eastern North America and how might we best explore the topic?

Archaeologists must concede that physical preservation has left only the most durable evidence on which to write regional prehistories. By default, the first ten thousand years of known North America prehistory is one of stone. However, local cultures were surely more than just a style of chipped hunting tools. A wide variety of perishable material was most assuredly used. Beyond perishable goods and technologies, cultures also possessed other equally less tangible elements including communications, relationships, organizations, and ceremonies which the archaeologist will seldom know directly. However, one should not be so willing to surrender to this circumstance but endeavour to visualize or indirectly reconstruct cultures in their entirety.

Due to the nature of archaeological study and the vagaries caused by preservation, the history of masking or more properly the origins of animal/spirit impersonation may never be known. Though masked ceremonies have been physically associated with communal setting, there is no compelling reason to conclude that ceremonial practices including masks and disguises developed subsequently to horticultural activities or that a society could not have initiated masking activities until life took a semi-sedentary social stance. Conversely, we should hypothesize the ideas on which magical belief, religious practices, and creative arts were based on a concept carried to North America along with a rote understanding of hunt practices and lithic technology. One can suppose the history of masking in eastern North America do not begin the oldest archaeological finding east of the Mississippi River but with cultures having some historical relationship to the first Americans. By design then, the research herein turned from a centric focus limited by time and place to a history that is based on the study of the origins of human existence in North America. There is in fact reasonable evidence to conclude that the use of masks and visors was a part of life for the first "Paleo" inhabitants of North America. However, I do have to concede any tangible evidence for masking activities is not apparent in the archaeological record for nearly 10,000 years.

In the Palaeolithic cave site of Trois Frères (i.e. the Three Brothers) in southern France are literally hundreds of animal figures. In the midst of these herds are found at least two bipedal figures cloaked as animals (Breuil 1952). One charcoal sketch is apparently a human hunter surrounded by common game animals (Figure 1). The figure combines a bison like head and shoulders with human-like hind quarters

and legs. The lower extremities suggest the disguise consists of a bison robe. The figure seems to be wearing a type of mask and body covering with short curved horns like those shown on the walls about him.

The second drawing, technically an engraving enhanced by paint, also exhibits human characteristics (Figure 2). This image depicts a spirited figure, possibly dancing, peering at the audience from the rock. Conspicuous are a flowing tail, a head with antlers, and the pricked ears of a cervid (Campbell 1970: 287, 309-310). These elements suggest the characteristics of an Irish Elk-like creature. Contrastingly, the figure also displays human feet, uncervine-like front paws, and human-like male genitalia. Disregarding the reason for this depiction, the figure is assuredly a bipedal human disguised as an animal. Though rare survivors artistically, these figures may have been in common sight culturally.

Keeping these Paleolithic figures in mind, we can contend that this physical evidence and the migration to and settlement of the New World is the precedence for mask and disguises in North America. In the New World, semi-nomadic hunting persisted until most recently. Hunters were still found to don animal disguises nearly half way around the world and tens of thousands of years later. For example, the famous plains artist George Catlin viewed and then drew the figure of a costumed Blackfoot doctor/dancer in garb so as to appear as a bear (Figure 3). Gatlin also observed Plains hunters wearing wolf skin disguises to draw closer to bison herds (Figure 4). Earlier in the sixteenth century the French artist, Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues also drew a North American hunting scene where the natives were shown to use antler and deerskin disguises to stalk deer (Figure 5). Masks made of caribou and seal skin were still being made in the 20th century (Figure 6). The use of these masks across the Labradorian Peninsula may have had both a functional and ceremonial application for the semi-nomadic hunters of the Canadian taiga and tundra.

Regardless of the exact process and the timing of circumambulation, the origins of masking appear to be an elemental aspect of the North America settlement. One can further conjecture that masks and head coverings may have commonly been fabricated in soft materials like skin and hides. Obviously, they would seldom survive archaeologically. However supporting evidence has been found to occur archaeologically when mask and visors were made of more durable material like bone. Regardless, the occurrence of animal skulls modified into ceremonial face coverings has long been known. However, they have been commonly described as head dresses. Based on associated chronologic evidence, modified animal

skulls were seemingly used for very a long time. The evidence appears as recurring themes prehistorically with the earliest examples dating from 3500 to 4000 years ago. Successive examples clearly demonstrate the use pattern continued successively through the Woodland and Late Prehistoric eras.

Robert Converse (1974: 31) reports the occurrence of eight to ten well documented cut animal skull masks in Ohio collections. Contextually, these masks are associated with Glacial Kame burials and date to the Late Archaic Period. Three cut wolf skulls have been recovered from the Clifford Williams Site, Logan County, Ohio in 1961. It should be noted, these wolf masks were earlier reported by Baby (1961) and Galitza (1970). A complete example was recovered from the right shoulder of a flexed male burial (Figures 7 and 8). During the 1970s, two cut bear skulls were recovered from the Williams Site, Wood County, Ohio (Figure 9). The use of bear skull masks appears to be a widely shared trait since Converse (1974: 31) also reports the recovery of two additional bear mask fragments from the Hind Site, Bothwell, tail deer were similarly modified. Two examples with antlers in place have been reported from the Archaic Period in Alabama. Converse (1974: 35) also reports a similar cut deer skull (Figure 10 and 11) which he personally recovered from a Glacial Kame burial site near Unionville Center, Union County, Ohio.

During subsequent eras, animal skull masks continued to be used. Cut maxillary fragments have been unearthed during Adena mound excavations (Webb and Baby 1957: 61-65). The first known example was recovered from the Wright Mounds Group (Mound 6), Montgomery County, Kentucky. The initial find appears to have been a cut wolf skull palate reduced to a spatula-shaped artifact. Frontal elements of the palate with the incisor and canine teeth anterior to the first premolars were left in place. The palate had been thinned and polished to a thickness of two mm. and a width of about 25 mm. Though more fragmentary, a strikingly similar example was also reported by Webb and Baby (1957) from Ayer Mound, Owen County, Kentucky. Upon further examination of other Adena mound collections, Raymond Baby found a worked, fragmentary and partially cremated wolf maxillary from a small subconical mound in the Wolford Group, Pickaway County, Ohio. Here, only the distal end of the spatula has survived for analysis and interpretation. Other cut maxillary fragments have also been found south of the Ohio River from the Dover Mound, Mason County, Kentucky. Contrastingly this example was cut from a cougar maxilla fragment. However, this example was not cut into the typical Adena spatula form. This maxilla fragment was found to have been cut vertically just behind the canine teeth sockets. Interpre-

tively this arcade may represent an arbour supporting a cougar skin mask and cloak.

Woodland Period masking evidence is not limited to just Adena sites. Two thousand years ago, exotic materials were also used to create head coverings during the Middle Woodland Period. There are multiple examples of copper deer antler effigies and one mountain goat effigy horn which were recovered from two Hopewellian sites in Ohio (Figure 12 and 13). They include the Mound City group and the Hopewell Mound group, both found just outside Chillicothe, Ohio (Mills 1922: 545-547). Several reconstructions have been posed to explain how these head coverings were employed. Though usually considered a form of head dress, these elements may easily represent arbors to support a more extensive head visor/mask when one considers: 1) the reported quantity of woven fabric, skin, and fur found in association with one of these specimens; and 2) when the evidence is reviewed in conjunction with other mask evidence herein described. Analogy best supports their use as part of a ceremonial disguise.

The re-examination of cremated remains from Middle Woodland Hopewellian sites have at least in one case identified some 42 fragments of worked human bone representing the facial elements of a human skull. The fragments consisted of frontal and lateral vault area, principally from around the eye orbits and lateral vault areas surrounding the brain case (Baby 1956). In addition to cutting and polishing the bony margins, drilled perforations also suggest attachment points to create an easily worn, possibly hooded, mask-like head covering. In addition to this find, coatings of red and white clay on human cranial and mandibular fragments have been observed on skull fragments found at Illinoian Hopewellian sites. This evidence has been said to represent elements of clay funerary masks used ceremonially (Cook and Farnsworth 1981). In sum, masks or head coverings again appear to be a common Hopewellian trait.

Evidence for Hopewell masking is not just limited to bone masks and head coverings composed of exotic material. The most provocative evidence for masking came from a small inconspicuous mound associated with the Newark Earthworks, Licking County, Ohio. During the 1880s, the expansion of the roller mill just southeast of downtown Newark, Ohio required the removal of this prehistoric structure from within emerged a Middle Woodland stone figure. Now designated the Wray Figurine, the effigy portrays a seated human figure cloaked in a bear skin complete with claw mittens (Figure 14). The figure also suggests a naturalistically proportioned head visor or the presence of facial skin correctly articulated by a skull (?) arbour.

The Wray figurine also exhibits a non-human-like swelling at the figure's upper back and just below the wearer's neck (Figure 15). This carved swelling is located at a point where the carved visor meets the back of the skin cloak. The mask's position above the face implies the covering was not necessarily a full face covering but a partial covering or visor. This costume could still obscure the entire face. The visor's position could be controlled and would have been dependant upon the physical attitude of the dancer/celebrant. A frontal view allows us to observe the cloaked figure. Turning the figure and holding the head downward in more of a dancing attitude creates a humped back bear profile and fully transformed the dancer to the mythological image.

The most well known example of a prehistoric mask is of a visage type decorated with effigy deer antlers found at the famous Late Prehistoric Craig Mound LeFlore County, Oklahoma. The full sized mask is composed on red cedar with marine shell eye, mouth, and ear accents. The mask is currently housed in the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington D.C. This is not the only carved face from the Late Prehistoric era. A wooden maskette, or half size face (nearly 5 inches high and 4 inches wide or 11.9 cm x 9.9cm. x 5.5 cm), was also found during the excavation of the Emmons Cemetery, Fulton County, Illinois (Conrad 1989:110 or Townsend and Sharp 2004: 121, figure 33). The specimen is now housed in the Illinois State Museum is thought to have been carved between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1350. The Emmons maskette was carved on a piece of red cedar preserved by its association with copper salts. The surface of the maskette was once painted in galena or lead oxide paint. Furthermore, the paint was applied in such a way to give the appearance of a forked eye or weeping eye pattern. The forehead exhibits a stepped design commonly seen of copper and marine shell short-nosed and long-nosed god figures found regionally. Each of these designs or motifs is quite common during the Late Prehistoric Period. The maskette from the Emmons Site is blind with a hollowed back. As such, the artifact was probably not used as a mask. Its function beyond its decorative aspect is unknown but it does imply the mask carving was technological possibility.

One of the greatest archaeological discoveries in eastern North America occurred in the 1890s on the Gulf Coast of Florida. Local discoveries of perishable remains in a water-logged peat deposit culminated in the formation of the Pepper-Hearst expedition led by Frank Hamilton Cushing to Key Marco in 1895-1896. The discoveries were unlike any found before or since. Artifacts made of wood and plant material, and botanic remains were recovered by Cushing and his crew numbered to the tune of hundreds of specimens. The

most spectacular remains were carved animal figures; wooden bowls and tools, painted depiction of birds, and carved and sometimes paint decorated ceremonial masks.

Purdy (1991: 37) cites Cushing who states: "we found fourteen or fifteen fairly well preserved specimens, besides numerous ... decayed ... they could not be recovered". Based on photographic evidence and contemporary water-color drawings done at the time of excavation there may have been as many of 18 nearly whole wooden masks temporarily recovered for study along with 22 fragmentary examples (Figure 16). Those that survived the Florida sun are now housed in modern collections at places like the National Museum/Smithsonian, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Heye Foundation, Florida State Museum, and British Museum. Based on the general absence of metal in the assemblage, the Cushing or Key Marco Site seemingly predates A.D. 1545. Purdy (1991: 30) and others (see for example Gilliland 1975: 38 and 257-258 or Gilliland 1989: 127-128) concede elements in the collection may date as early as A.D. 650 to A.D. 900 but more likely just a century or two before contact. Culturally, the collection seems most closely associated with the Caloosa population who inhabited south Florida at the time of Spanish contact. Though the masks from Key Marco were a surprising find, the regional inhabitants were no stranger to the use of masks in ceremonies (Purdy 1991: 49). Purdy (1991: 49) study of Floridian sites concludes the spectacular finds from Key Marco have never been duplicated and no counterparts exist in prehistoric North American art anywhere. However, I would have to disagree with the further conclusion that the closest clue to their prehistoric existence is the use of mask along the northern Pacific coastline. Though rare in the eastern half of North America, comparable examples may someday be recovered.

As reported herein, the data confirms the use of masks and visors was well integrated into Eastern Woodland life and ceremony. One might further conclude there is an ever-growing body of evidence bridging the Palaeolithic use and North American use of masks for disguise. This is not necessarily an unthought-of concept. In his study on the origins of myth, Joseph Campbell (1970: 282-283) previously noted the similarity of 10-30,000 year old half man half animal figures midst a herd of European animals recorded on French cave walls and stories of the disguised hunters living on the plains of North America attempting to lure bison to their death. Campbell states that our plains hunters were attempting to arouse the bison's curiosity by wheeling about in front of a herd in a manner to alternatively appear and disappear. The effect was designed to tangibly lure the herd to their

death at a designated buffalo jump.

Campbell further contends that such prescription was also used magically through mimicry and dance in an effort to promote and recreate the hunting act in a ceremonial fashion. One might also suppose the act of recording these scenes on cave walls may have been just as magical an act as those played out by the Native Americans thousands of years later. The graven Palaeolithic figures have been interpreted as "sorcerers", the spirits controlling hunting, a magician's self-portrait, a man hunting deer, or a deer hunt dance to induce good hunting (see Campbell 1970: 310). Minimally, these bi-pedal figures found in European caves appear to be a graphic image and the art itself a magical act to induce and insure future success in hunting. Regardless, these portraits confirm the sheer antiquity for the use of disguises in human history.

We should remember Campbell's suppositions are based on ethnographic analogy. How masks and disguises were actually employed cannot be fully understood without meeting and talking with the native artists who created them. Obviously, this only happened in places like North America when the continent was rediscovered by literate explorers. This historic event allowed the native activities to be recorded permanently. Conversely, we may never precisely know why masks and disguises came to be used prehistorically, albeit pure functionality or as an activity with a magico-religious implications. The precise time when such coverings evolved from disguise worn during a hunting excursion to a magical act of drawing to promote hunting success has yet to be understood. Regardless, Lieut. Col. Adam Humley's journal entry of 1779 quoted at the beginning of this article implies visors were well integrated into native ceremonialism and represent more than just a unique moment in history.

During this analysis and interpretation, I have tried to use the term mask when the appliance covers the face while visor might be a better descriptive term when the appliance extends more horizontally from the forehead. However, the visor appears to have been just as effective a tool as a full mask to complete a disguise. Furthermore, the historic use of the terms implies at least indirectly the ceremony was a process including transformation element where the hunter, juggler, or dancer became more spirit-like by looks downward and mimics the motions of the foraging quadrupeds, movements of displaying birds, or even the powerful habits of mythological beings.

Disguise in the Eastern Woodlands ultimately became a culturally powerful institution. I would further contend there was inherent belief that spiritual powers could be tapped or replicated by disguise. By the use of posture, mimicry, and dance,

the celebrant transfigured their persona from a mere human to mythical/spiritual beings. The participants through power were more than just characters but were thought to actually transform or had the ability to spiritually shape-change to another state of being by gesture, posture, and impersonation. This concept seems to have had a very long history indeed.

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Figure 1 (Baker)
Paleolithic figure
cloaked as a bison
from Trois Freres
Cave, France
(after Breuil 1952).



Figure 2 (Baker)
Paleolithic figure cloaked as a cervid from Trois Freres Cave,
France (after Breuil 1952).



Figure 3 (Baker)
Blackfoot (?) conjuror
(doctor) dress in a yellow
bearskin cloak and visor
as reported by George Catlin
in the 1830s.

Figure 4 (Baker)
Plains Indian hunting party stocking bison while cloaked in wolf
disguises as reported by George Catlin in the 1830s.

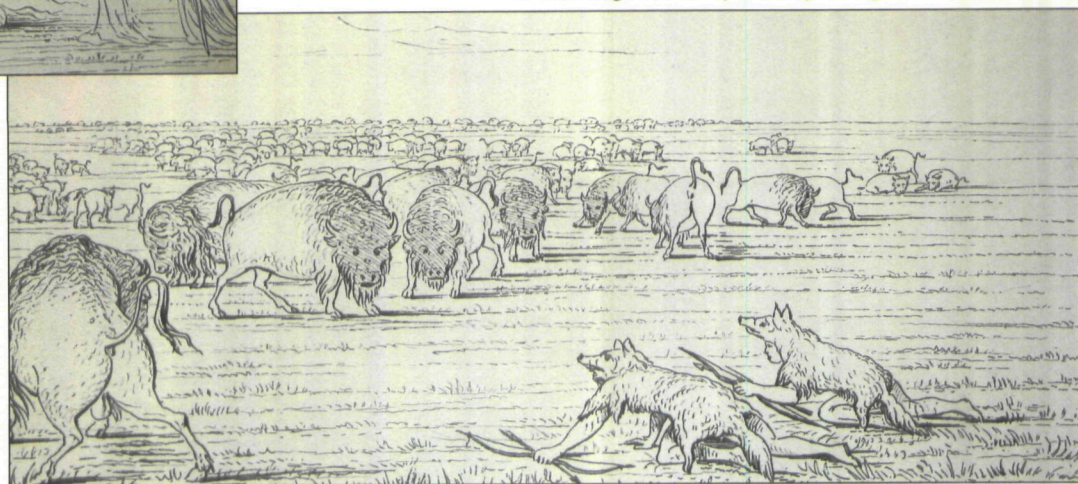




Figure 5 (Baker)
Eastern North American hunting scene depicting the use of deer skin disguises (ca. 1600) after Theodor de Bry (Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress).



Figure 6 (Baker)
Modern copy of a skin mask from the Labradorean Peninsula.



Figure 7 (Baker)
Burial from the Clifford Williams Glacial Kame Site, Logan County, Ohio showing the position of a wolf skull visor in situ (after Galitza 1970).



Figure 8 (Baker)
Restored wolf skull visor/mask from the Clifford Williams Glacial Kame Site, Logan County, Ohio (Ohio Historical Society Collections).

Figure 9 (Baker)
Restored bear skull visor/mask from the Karl Williams Cemetery Site,
Wood County, Ohio (Ohio Historical Society Collections).



Figure 10 (Baker)
Cut deer skull mask elements found at the New Darby Cemetery
Glacial Kame Site, Unionville Center, Union County, Ohio
(after Converse 1970).

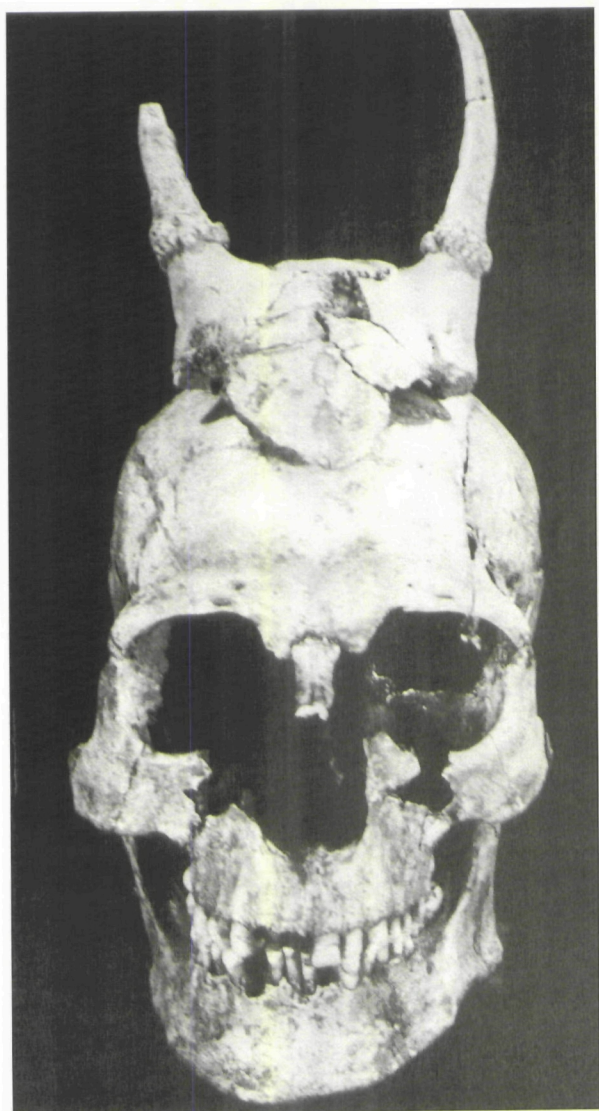


Figure 11 (Baker)
The deer skull mask elements from the New Darby Cemetery
Glacial Kame Site, Unionville Center, Union County, Ohio
showing in relationship with the reconstructed human skull
from the same burial (after Converse 1970).

Figure 12 (Baker)
Drawing of the
copper deer
antler mask
elements found
in association
with an extended
human burial
at Mound 25,
Hopewell Site
located outside
Chillicothe, Ohio
(after Fowke
1901).



Figure 298.
Wooden Head-dress Covered With Copper. Hopewell Mound.

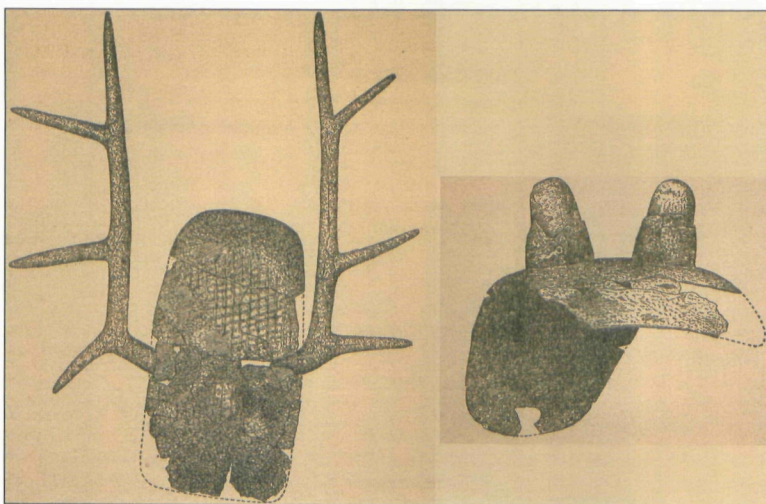


Figure 13 (Baker)
Drawings of two copper deer antler masks from Mound 25, Hopewell Site as depicted by Moorehead 1922.



Figure 14 (Baker)
The Wray Figurine from Newark, Ohio showing the use of a bear skin visor over the face.



Figure 15 (Baker)
Detail of the Wray Figurine showing the non human-like swell below the back and neck juncture.
Note: the profile and crouching posture transforms the human dancer into a ceremonial bear figure.

Figure 16 (Baker)
Three watercolor drawings of carved wooden faces from the Key Marco Site, southwestern Florida (after Frank Cushing and the artist Wells Sawyer, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)

